

getic action was imperatively demanded in the interest of the party; that when the Board of Supervision remained inactive, the New York Section should have called upon it to intervene, but that the action of the New York Section is excusable, because they believed the majority of the Board to be under the influence of the executive committee. Though the correctness of this view is disputed by the Board of Supervision, this opinion was entertained and had its effect.

"We also find that the New York Section might well believe that the executive was endeavoring to pack the convention called for Sept. 28, but how far this apprehension was borne out by the facts we are unable to decide; but we are of the opinion that after the Board of Supervision had suspended both executive committees and itself taken charge of the management of the party, the Board was the only legal party authority; that the action of the Board of Supervision in postponing the convention was justified, and Rosenberg, Gercke, Hintze and Sauter, as well as the Chicago Section, placed themselves outside of the party."

PARIS CONGRESS.

"Resolved, 1. That the former Secretary of the National Executive Committee deserves censure for failing to report to the Board of Supervision the result of the general vote. 2. That the insinuations circulated against some of the nominees were unfounded and unjustifiable, and the comrades are cautioned to be more careful in the future in respect to such slanders."

SLANDEROUS CHARGES AND INSINUATIONS.

"Whereas, Rosenberg and his partisans have published unfounded charges and insinuations against several active comrades which, if proven, would disqualify them for any active participation in the labor movement and bring discredit upon their names,

"The Convention declares that these charges form a part of those persistent insinuations which Rosenberg and his allies were always ready to throw out against the persons whom they looked upon as their opponents, and are in no respect based on fact;

"And the Convention further declares that there can be no excuse for the proceeding of those slandersers, as it clearly would have been their duty, if they believed in the truth of their insinuations, to prefer charges before the Sections of which the accused were members, and there prove their allegations, thus affording to the accused at the same time an opportunity of disproving the charges by a proper investigation."

POLITICAL ACTION.

"Resolved, To recommend to the members wherever one or more labor parties are in the field, to support that party which is the most progressive; that is, the platform and principles which come nearest to ours, and at least recognizes the conflict between capital and labor; but members shall not be permitted to participate in the founding of new parties when there is no well-founded reason to believe the same shall fully recognize our principles.

"With regard to the practical application of these tactics, be it provided, that if a decision has been made by the local section or district organization in the premises, it shall be binding upon the members; and no member shall take part in such political movement if the section or district has decided against it.

"Members are in duty bound to assist in the endeavors of the various economic organizations of wage-workers, by entering the ranks of such organizations, or to found such organizations as will prevent the economic degradation of the workers and improve their conditions.

"Members are in duty bound to foster our democratic principles in any trade union or K. of L. Assembly in which they may hold membership, in order to enable the members of those organizations to administer their own affairs, to recognize the solidarity of all wage-workers, acknowledge the irreconcilable conflict between exploiters and their victims, making these postulates the basis of their economic movement."

CAPITALISTIC PARTIES AND CANDIDATES.

"Resolved, That under no circumstances shall members of the party be permitted to use the party organization or the socialist press for the support of any capitalistic parties or their candidates."

THE EIGHT-HOUR WORKING DAY.

"Whereas, The normal work-day, i. e., the reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production, affords in a measure protection against the increasing intensiveness of exploitation, and is therefore desirable; and

"Whereas, The normal work-day, through the most radical reform possible under the present industrial system, is still only a palliative; and

"Whereas, The realization of this demand cannot afford a lasting safeguard against the pauperization of the masses, in consequence of the perfected division of labor, the progress of invention and the use of machinery, the emancipation of the working people being impossible without a fundamental change of the social system, be it

"Resolved, That we urge all members of the party everywhere, and at all times, to take an active part in the eight-hour movement of the trades unions, always keeping in view the above considerations."

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION.

"Whereas, The interests of the exploited in their struggle against their industrial enslavement are identical throughout all countries; and

"Whereas, The time has come when

this solidarity should find expression in an international organization, be it

"Resolved, That we fully endorse the resolutions of the Paris International Labor Congress as far as the same are applicable in this country, and we instruct the coming executive to enter into communication with the socialist parties and organizations of other countries with a view to forming an international federation."

THE FLAG INCIDENT.

"Resolved, That we deeply regret the publication of a report to the effect that a public meeting of Socialists at Voraert's Turner Hall last Sunday the American flag was hoisted. Although we did not arrange the meeting, and, as strangers in this city, surely cannot be held responsible for the conduct of the audience, yet we declare that none of us has heard any hissing, and that if there was any it must have been an exceedingly insignificant affair, brought on by a few indiscreet persons. However, we can positively say that the American flag when hoisted was greeted by the clapping of hands, and we think the mere fact that the hoisting of the stars and stripes was done should be sufficient proof that there was no intent whatever to insult or even to show disrespect to the flag."

Brooklyn was elected as the seat of the next National Executive Committee. Sanial was recommended for the editorship of the WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE. For the editorship of *Der Sozialist* three comrades were recommended, Christensen, Negendank and Hugo Vogt.

Some other matters of interest, including a true report of Shevitch's interview with the Mayor of Chicago after the "flag-hissing" incident, are crowded out of this issue. They will appear in our next, together with the amendments to the constitution.

ROSENBERG'S SUICIDE.

We republish from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* and *Staats-Zeitung* of the 18th inst. the following letter, which needs no comment:

"NEW YORK, Oct. 15, 1889.

"To the Mayor and Citizens of Chicago:

"The aggregation of demagogues—Shevitch, Grotkau, Sanial, the woman Greie and others—who took pains to show their hatred of Americans last Sunday at West 12th street in Turner Hall, Chicago, by hissing the American flag, we beg to inform you are not members of the Socialist Party, whose national convention was held in your city from Sept. 28 to Oct. 3. Inclosed you will please find a copy of our platform, which was then adopted under the flag of our country and the flags of all nations, with which the convention hall was decorated. While we have been and are traduced because of the impudent adoption of the name Socialist by disorderly anarchists, we cannot patent the honorable name of Socialists; but by our energetic opposition to all enemies of the State, and our loyal adherence to the principles which underlie our national fabric, we hope at least to maintain the respect of all shades of political opinion. At our national convention held in your city we publicly denounced the ranting demagogues, who would now disgrace the name of our party, and who have not the manhood to show a decent respect for the opinions of others.

"Respectfully,

"W. L. ROSENBERG.

"Sec'y Nat'l Executive Committee."

COMMUNICATIONS.

"NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.—Write plain; 'hold down' your letters; make them short. Write only on one side of the paper. Be as good-natured as you can be under the circumstances."

AS TO INDIVIDUALISTS.

To the *Workmen's Advocate*:

Liberty, of Boston, mentions the town of Sitka, Alaska, where "nobody owns any land in fee simple. A man simply builds his house on the best unoccupied lot he can find." Possession is the sole title, and it is very effective, for, as *Liberty* does not state but which is included in the account, "water is both scarce and dear, and has been almost a monopoly in the hands of R. T. Lewis, who has the good fortune to own the only spring in the place. Being a live man, he laid pipes into the houses of residents, charging from \$3 to \$10 a month as a water rate."

He owned the land, hence the water. Does *Liberty* recognize a collective right to that spring? Of course not; collectivism is tyranny. "They are prosperous, happy and well-behaved," says *Liberty*. But the report which I read says: "The girls in the Indian families are bought up to be sold for purposes of immorality." Also, "Cottages readily find tenants at a rent of \$25 to \$30 per month." Surely there is too much anarchy, or not enough, in Sitka.

Mr. Pentecost, of the *Twentieth Century*, has discovered that nothing can ever be gained by votes or ever has been. His method is, first, self-reform, and second, agitation; then, "when a large majority of people come to think" a certain reform ought to take place, it will take place. The tariff will never be reformed by votes. "A decision is hindered by votes," says Pentecost. Certain it is that a thing is never decided by votes unless it is voted upon. But suppose abolition of the tariff were voted on in Congress or in election, would not a small majority do the job? Which is sooner gained by agitation, a small or a large majority?

While "this utter dependence upon

the will of the majority, the legislature, the police, the militia and the army is a pure superstition," and must be a large element in public opinion, it is rather puzzling to hear that "when public opinion demands a thing, it will be done just as well without a law as with one." I think Mr. Pentecost can explain it.

"The powers of the army, police," etc., are "wholly for evil." I will cite a case. A lot of men working in a factory resigned all at once. They accepted the principle that they had no right to their positions after leaving. A lot of poor, hungry men, out of work for a long time, weak and despairing, were hired in the factory. The first lot came with bricks, etc., to drive the new lot away; not claiming a superior right to the positions, but to make a stringency in the labor market, so that their services would again be needed. Now, the police interfered and protected those other men as they worked to get food for hungry wives and children. That was "evil," hence to drive out the poorer men, letting their families starve, would have been "good." Of course greater outside causes made it necessary that one lot of men must be out of work; but that does not affect the issue of the moment; and the chief cause was not the police, but "ownership of vacant land," according to Mr. Pentecost, which was sustained by the opinion of the "large majority," who by "coming to think," are to apply the remedy.

Editor Stuart, of the *Individualist*, wrote a pamphlet on "Natural Rights, Natural Liberty and Natural Law." His banner carries these words: "Every person has a natural right to do whatever he wills, provided that in the doing thereof he infringes not the equal right of any other person."

He tests every law by this principle. It is a pleasant, harmless and elastic motto. Any child can use it; or any childish person whose opinions on "the equal rights of any other person," are warped by false training. We must elect judges who will be guided by this principle instead of statutes and precedents. A very good plan indeed, if only people would elect judges on an issue they cannot comprehend.

Now, Mr. Stuart says, in his paper, that the main issue is between Rational Individualism and Collective Coercion. A man may conscientiously violate this principle (owing to false education) and a majority-elected judge of equity punish him. Is this not Collective Coercion? But it is for the Right, hence justified; any doctrinaire says the same. Then it is hard to see how men will vote for a judge of equity who will ignore statutes any sooner than they will vote for a statute based upon this "first principle." In either case it is Collective Coercion.

That which Mr. Stuart implies by the term "natural" differs from the popular meaning, and I think he is wrong. By natural rights, natural liberty and natural law we commonly understand the rights, liberty and law that would obtain in the absence of artificial or conventional devices or customs. But Mr. Stuart means just rights, just liberty and just laws. Whatever is sanctioned by his "first principle" is natural; whatever it prohibits is not natural. Right is natural, wrong unnatural. It is a question of fact. Either tyranny, inequality and injustice are natural or they are not. Where can we go for proof, except to those instances which man's devices and agreements have not modified?

The mouse has no natural rights, if a cat is near; and the cat, by nature, deprives the mouse of what Mr. Stuart would call its natural rights and natural liberty. Indeed, Mr. Stuart quotes, in support of his position, A. H. Stephens, who says:

"No person has any natural right to wantonly hurt or injure another. The object of government is to prevent or redress injuries of this sort; for in a state of nature, without the superior restraining power of government, the strong would viciously impose upon the weak. Upon entering society however, for the purpose of having their natural rights secured and protected, the weak do not give up or surrender any portion of their priceless heritage, in any government constituted and organized as it should be."

A more careless use of words could not be imagined. The above concedes that primitive man, strong and weak, are related as the cat and mouse are related. Remove restraint and the strong tend to viciousness, and devour the weak; and the lower we go the more literally is the devouring done, until we reach cannibalism, nature's own cat and mouse scheme. The rights of the weak are the same as those of the mouse. This "priceless heritage" is not to be surrendered on entering society. But it is overcome just as men's devices overcome any natural evil. The right of the weak to life is thus acquired, by agreement or compact of men, to combine and overcome nature, just as they might combine to overcome malaria by draining a country. No man has a natural right to live in a marsh; but by fortifying his system with medicines (man's device) or removing the malaria, he acquires the right to live there.

Mr. Stuart thinks he refutes the "social compact hypothesis" by proving that the original compact cannot justify blind present generations. That is admitted. The freedom to make our own compacts distinguishes democracy from despotism. Every election is a new compact.

A right under a relation should not be called a natural right, because it depends upon the consent of another person. If a lover has a natural right to associate with a lady, her consent is of no consequence. He has a natural right to request her company; and the right depends upon her favor. A real natural

right, such as tilling the soil, depends on the consent of no one.

In applying his discoveries in natural law Mr. Stuart makes the most minute distinctions. Thus a man lends money; he has no natural right to appeal to collective power to get it back; while if he lends a horse, he has the right. Discoveries in natural law are of the most general nature, such as the discovery of the expansion of steam. They are applied specifically by man's intellect, by endless methods. So relations must be left to men's inclinations. If a community decides that it cannot return a horse that was lent, or can compel return of borrowed money, such must be the law in that community. Dissenters can join another community.

Mr. Stuart would dislike to be called a State Socialist, but he is one in a degree. Collective control of a railroad track or other highway protects natural rights; hence is natural. But here is another queer discovery in natural law. Collective control of engines and cars is unnatural and wrong. The word natural is out of place. Nature has neither railroads nor cars. Men may decide what they will own collectively or personally. A practical question of this nature is at least equally as important as one of personal rights. It is discovered that gas can be made and distributed for less than ten cents per thousand feet. This will furnish heat at less than half the cost of coal. Shall collective power lay pipes and furnish this gas at cost, or shall individuals do so for profit; or build two plants and compete; or combine and raise the price? Such questions are seldom raised in individualistic journals. When an illustration of "collective coercion" is wanted, State interference of "my right to speak, sing, dance, travel," etc., does duty in vanquishing the collectivist. ZENO.

SUMMARY OF BELLAMY'S PLAN OF NATIONALISM.

(For Class Study.)

Prepared for "The Dawn" by Edward Bellamy.

(Concluded from last week.)

Owing to the fact that the relation of work and maintenance is directly between the nation and each individual, no man's livelihood is dependent upon the favor or patronage of any other or group of others, nor any woman's upon a man, nor can a child suffer privation. All citizens, consequently, enjoy moral independence, and are free from social or personal dictation or pressure as to belief, speech or practice, so far as they infringe upon no other's rights. The development of a robust and unfettered individuality, which is rendered so difficult to-day by the partial or complete dependence of nearly everybody upon others for support or business patronage, is thus open to all.

Owing to the fact that all forms of capital are held in trust by the nation for the people, and all commodities produced by the nation, it follows that everything the individual needs can, and can only, be procured directly from the nation. That is to say, there is no buying or selling, or trade of any sort, among individuals; therefore, there is no use for money and no money. The citizen is credited with his annual dividend of the product of the great partnership, and receives vouchers, upon presentation of which at the public stores he obtains what he wants, at such times and in such quantities as he likes. He expends his share altogether as he pleases, whether his tastes run to renting a fine house, having a fine table, or wearing fine clothes. These vouchers are good only for the year for which they are issued, and cannot be accumulated beyond that, whatever is not taken up being turned over to the public surplus. Spendthrifts becoming public burdens are placed under guardianship as to their expenses. The portions of children are also, of course, expended for them.

While the nation undertakes and controls all public business, smaller groups of citizens co-operate at will, as now, for social, religious, political, or other semi-private purposes, and are able, substantially as at the present time, to raise common funds for such ends, by contributions from their private credits.

Crime has shrunk to almost imperceptible proportions. Robbery, theft and fraud of every sort are without a motive in a society where all have abundance, where covetousness is not stimulated by different degrees of luxury, and where equality of resources is an annually renewed. Not only fraud, but even falsehood, is almost unknown, owing to the fact that none are dependent for their livelihood or for any advantage upon the favor of their fellows, and having nothing to fear or hope from them, are without temptation to prevaricate. As to crimes of violence, the universal refinement of manners which results from a general high education has tended to reduce them to the same small proportions in which they now occur among the educated classes. As for corruption among public officials, there are no personal or corporate interests opposed to the public interests to create a motive for bribery; neither is there any wealth to bribe with nor poverty to be bribed.

Owing to the equality of wealth, marriages are based solely upon personal preference, and never upon sordid or prudential calculations. The unhindered operation of the principle of sexual selection in marriage has exerted a marked effect upon the physical, intellectual and moral character of the race. The general wealth of society is represented as vastly greater in the year 2000 than it is now. This is owing in part to the continuance for another

century of the scientific progress which has already so enriched the world of today as compared with the world of the eighteenth century. Quite as much, however, it is owing to the vast positive gains and negative savings in the use of labor resulting from the substitution of the scientific methods of organized and unified industrial system for the wasteful struggle of the present competitive plan, with its countless warring and mutually destructive undertakings.

The account of the manner in which the change was made from the industrial system of to-day to that of the year 2000 represents it as resulting from the development to its logical conclusion of the tendency now observable to the consolidation of entire trades under the single management of great corporations, syndicates and trusts. As individual ownership and control of great business enterprises has already almost wholly given place to corporate management, and as corporate management is now before our eyes giving place to the still larger concentrations of the trusts or syndicates, so, it is represented, the syndicates and trusts in due time realized their manifest destiny by absorption in the great trust of the nation, the universal partnership of the people.

The enthusiasm of the people of the United States when they began to foresee the manner in which their salvation was thus destined to be wrought out, and to realize the greatness of it, is described to have been unparalleled and to have resulted in a popular uprising, peaceful because irresistible, without precedent in history.

While the condition of society in the year 2000 is described as being in all ways vastly improved upon that of the present day, it is represented that the people of that epoch by no means rested satisfied in it, or considered it anything more than a single step in the infinite progression of humanity toward the divine. In looking back upon our time their sentiment was chiefly one of amazement that the race should have been so slow to apply to industrial or organization principles at once so obviously just and so economically advantageous.

BOSTON.

At a public meeting held under the auspices of the American Section, Miss Voltairine de Cleyre addressed a crowded hall last Sunday evening. Her subject was, "What is Socialism, and who are Socialists?" She was listened to with marked attention throughout. A large number of questions were asked and answered, and very little opposition was displayed.

While insane from fever Mrs. Williams, wife of William R. Williams, the well known tenor singer of Newark, committed suicide by taking a fatal dose of poison.

DIRECTORY OF AMERICAN SECTIONS.

ALBANY—Organizer, Jos. Gilliar, 49 Jefferson street. Meetings, every first and third Tuesday evening at Cecilia Hall, 48-50 Alexander street.

BALTIMORE—Meetings every Sunday at 8 o'clock p. m. at Turner Hall, 416 E. Baltimore street; free discussion every meeting. Ira Dean, 1104 E. Preston street. Organizer, G. Fleischman, 1422 Bank street.

BOSTON, Mass.—Public agitation meetings at G. A. Hall, 610 Washington street, every Sunday evening at 7:30 o'clock. Free to all. Business meetings, first Tuesday evenings in each month, at 8 Nassau st. Organizer, Mrs. S. H. Morrill, 8 Nassau street, Boston. Recording Secretary, Daniel Lynch, 55 Yeoman street, Roxbury.

BROOKLYN—American Section meets every Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum. Organizer, Gustav Schaefer, 146 Leonard st.

CHICAGO—Agitation meeting every Sunday afternoon, 2 o'clock, at Waverly Hall, corner Lake and Clark streets. Organizer, T. J. Morgan, Box 62, Wabash Park.

CINCINNATI—Regular meeting second Monday evening of each month at Central Turn Hall. Organizer, Jacob Hemler, 159 Loth street.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Organizer, Wm. Feske, 1504 Walnut street.

LYNN, Mass.—Organizer, George R. Pearce, 81 Jefferson street.

MINNEAPOLIS—Scandinavian Section. Agitation Meetings, every second and fourth Mondays in each month. Business Meetings, every first and third Monday. Organizer, P. Peterson, P. O. Box 1084.

NEW YORK—American section: Agitation meetings every Friday evening at 25 East Fourth street. Organizer, Harry White, 25 East Fourth street.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Meetings at WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE office 1st and 3rd Friday of each month.

NEW ORLEANS—Meeting every first Sunday in month in the house of Comrade Beck, 105 Bordeaux st.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Agitation meetings every Tuesday evening at Morning Star Hall, northeast corner of Ninth and Callowhill streets. Secretary, Jul. Necker, 411 Vine street. Organizer, W. H. Bishop, 919 Saratoga street.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—Flemish Section meets first Sunday in each month, 1806 Germantown ave. De Bruyn, 1915 Warnock st.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—French Branch meets every second Saturday at Weiser's Hall. Louis Grosbert, Sec., 3244 Orleans st.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Meeting first Sunday of each month, 2 o'clock p. m., Slade's Building, Room 22. Organizer, Franklin Burton, 5 Sanspawey.

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Meets every Tuesday evening at 7:30 o'clock at Humboldt Hall, corner Ninth and I streets. Organizer, L. C. Fry, 515 K street.

SAN FRANCISCO—Public meeting every Wednesday night, 39 Fourth street. Organizer, T. Ross Martin, 628 Clay street.

The Directory of sixty German American Sections will be found in *Der Sozialist*.

SPECIAL AGENTS FOR THE WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE.

ALBANY—J. Gilliar, 49 Jefferson street.

BALTIMORE—C. Doering, 111 N. Castle st.

BOSTON—H. W. Brown, 228 Harrison ave.

BRIDGEPORT—S. Seltor, 328 Main street.

BUFFALO—Alb. Griesbeck, 115 Johnson ave.

LYNN, Mass.—Fred R. Decher, 10 Jewett st.

WHEELING, Conn.—W. Mauser, 32 Pratt st.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Theo. Jost, 335 Fort ave.

NEWARK—C. Scherer, 106 Springfield ave.

NEW YORK CITY—F. Decker, 492 E 74th st.

NEW ORLEANS—C. Boensch, P. O. Box 38; 1012 Lesseps st.

OLYMPIA, Wash. Ter.—J. Ploner, P. O. Box 95.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—H. Schimath, 153 N. Hamilton street.

PROVIDENCE—John Brand, 36 Snow street.

ROCHESTER—L. Waldorf, 315 North av.

SAN FRANCISCO—J. C. Bliss, 628 1/2 Natoma st.

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Peter Max, 491 Charles st.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Otto Kowling, 914 Highland st.

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